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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 /055 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1674

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2571

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

REF: A) STATE 104000; B) USNATO 2429; C) STATE 091311

1. ON MAY 6, POLADS HAD FURTHER DISCUSSION OF IS PAPER ON QUOTE SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE END QUOTE. MAIN RESULT WAS TO ELIMINATE FROM TEXT IMPLICATION THAT DELEGATIONS DISAGREED TON SIGNIFICANCE OF QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE END QUOTE FORMULATION IN ANGLO-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE OF FEBRUARY 17, 1975 (SEE PARAS 7 AND 8 REF B).

2. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT IN REVISED TEXT (BELOW) FINAL SENTENCE OF PARA 8 REF B (ON BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST) HAS BEEN DELETED. NEW TEXT CONTAINS LATEST DEPARTMENT SUGGESTIONS (REF A) IN PARAS 8 AND 12.

3. DEPARTMENT WILL ALSO NOTE THAT REVISED TEXT'S PARA 13 RETAINS AND HIGHLIGHTS PREVIOUS DRAFT'S STATEMENT THAT " IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO IMPLY ANY FORMAL WESTERN APPROVAL FOR SOVIET TEMINLOGY ABOUT 'PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE'." MISSION RECALLS THAT BASIC PRINCIPLES OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS OF MAY 29, 1972 AS WELL AS U.S.-SOVIET JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CONCLUSION OF VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT REFER TO BILATERAL RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, MAY WE CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSUME THAT DEPARTMENT TOOK THESE STATEMENTS INTO ACCOUNT IN AUTHORIZING ACCEPTANCE OF PARA 13 (PARA 8 OF REF B) FORMULATIONS (REF A)?

4. POLADS WILL HOLD HOPEFULLY FINAL DISCUSSION OF PAPER MAY 13.

5. ACTION REQUEST: GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR MAY 13 POLADS.

6. BEGIN TEXT:

SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW ON 17 FEBRUARY, 1975 (AS WELL AS THE ANGLO-SOVIET PROTOCOL ON CONSULTATIONS) CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH: QUOTE THE TWO SIDES DECLARED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, WHICH MEANS LONG-TERM, FRUITFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT. END QUOTE SUCH A FORMULATION SEEMS TO BE ANEW PRESENTATION OF AN IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPT WHICH HAS FOR MANY YEARS BEEN UNACCEPTABLE TO MOST WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AS A BASIS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BECAUSE OF ITS DEFINITION BY THE SOVIET SIDE.

TRADITIONAL SOVIET INTERPRETATION

2. THE TRADITIONAL INTERPRETATION THEORY FITS INTO THE OVERALL IDEOLOGY AND DIALECTIC OF MARXIST THEORY WHICH REGARDS THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM OVER CAPITALISM AS INEVITABLE. THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS THEREFORE A DYNAMIC NATURE, AIMED AT RESHAPING INTERSTATE RELATIONS. TYPICAL FORMULATION IS TO BE FOUND IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF A MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF EAST GERMAN SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY AND THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PUBLISHED ON 3 DECEMBER 1974): QUOTE PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE DOES NOT SIGNIFY THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SOCIAL POLITICAL STATUS QUO NOR THE END OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BUT CONTRIBUTES TO THE CREATION OF MORE FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND OF THE
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REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. END QUOTE

3. THE CONCEPT OF A STATIC RELATIONSHIP, WHETHER BETWEEN CLASSES OR COUNTRIES, IS FOREIGN TO COMMUNIST THINKING. MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY POSTULATES A CONTINUING, INEVITABLE AND EVENTUALLY SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASSES AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE AND BY EXTENSION OF THE QUOTE SOCIALIST END QUOTE STATES AGAINST THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE QUOTE CAPITALISM END QUOTE IS PERCEIVED BY MARXIST-LENINIST HAS A DOMINATING INFLUENCE. AS EARLY AS THE PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP FROM A POSITION OF RELATIVE WEAKNESS HAS HAD TO FACE THE FACT OF THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF WHAT

THEY SAW AS A LARGELY HOSTILE QUOTE CAPITALIST END QUOTE
WORLD; IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE HAS BEEN A REALISTIC
APPRECIATION OF THE FUTILITY OF TRYING TO DESTROY IT BY WAR.
THE DOCTRINE OF QUOTE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE END QUOTE RESOLVES
THIS CONTRADICTION; USED BY SOVIET LEADERS SINCE THE EARLY
1920'S, IT WAS ELEVATED IN 1956 FROM A CONVENIENT HISTORICAL
INTERLUDE INTO A STATE OF INDEFINITE DURATION. THIS VIEW
BECAME AND HAS SINCE REMAINED THE DOCTRINAL BASIS OF SOVIET
POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN STATES. QUOTE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE
END QUOTE IS THUS PEACEFUL ONLY IN THE SENSE THAT IT EXCLUDES
GENERAL WAR, AND FORESEES COEXISTENCE ONLY UNTIL WHAT
BREZHNEV HAS CALLED QUOTE THE TOTAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD END QUOTE OVER CAPITALISM. DURING THIS
PERIOD OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLE (POLITICAL, ECONOMIC,
IDEOLOGICAL AND IN SOME CASES LOCAL WARS) ARE NOT EXCLUDED
AND, ACCORDING TO SOME AUTHORITIES INCLUDING BREZHNEV
HIMSELF, MUST ACTUALLY BE INTENSIFIED. QUOTE PEACEFUL CO-
EXISTENCE APPEARS AS A DIALECTICAL PHENOMENON WHICH CONTAINS
ELEMENTS BOTH OF CO-OPERATION AND OF STRUGGLE... IT IS
ABOVE ALL A SPECIFIC FORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE
INTERNATIONAL ARENA. END QUOTE IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT SOVIET
LEADERS RECOMMENDED SOVIET-FINNISH RELATIONS AS A MODEL OF
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

4. A FURTHER DIFFICULTY FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE TRADITIONAL
SOVIET DEFINITION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS LAIN IN ITS
APPLICATION ONLY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT
SOCIAL SYSTEMS. INSIDE THE SOVIET CAMP, QUOTE PROLETARIAN
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END QUOTE OR QUOTE SOCIALIST END QUOTE INTERNATIONALISM STILL TAKES
PRIORITY OVER QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. END QUOTE ACCORDING
TO THE ABOVE INTERPRETATION THE QUOTE CLASS END QUOTE CHARACTER
OF INTRA-COMMUNIST RELATIONS REQUIRES THAT NATIONAL INTERESTS
OF COMMUNIST STATES BE SUBORDINATED TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CUSE, AND THAT THE TRANSITION
FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, ONCE MADE, IS IRREVERSIBLE.

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PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-05 /055 W
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5. THE DOCTRINE PURPORTS TO REWRITE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TO APPLY THEM IN A DISCRIMINATORY WAY ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION.

REAL MEANING OF THE ANGLO SOVIET FORMULATION

6. THE WORDING ADOPTED IN THE ANGLO-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE COULD BE PRESENTED AS CONTAINING SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT IMPLICATIONS FROM THE TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS SINCE IT EQUATES QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE END QUOTE WITH CO-OPERATION, WHICH MEANS MORE THAN MERELY THE AVOIDANCE OF GLOBAL WAR; IT REFERS TO QUOTE FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT END QUOTE WHICH IS HARDLY COMPATIBLE WITH CONTINUED IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE; MOREOVER, THIS VERSION APPLIES QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE END QUOTE TO QUOTE STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, END QUOTE WHICH DOES NOT EXPLICITLY RULE OUT ITS APPLICATION AMONG THE SOCIALIST STATES.

7. BUT, THERE IS NOTHING NEW FOR THE SOVIETS IN EQUATING THE IDEA OF COEXISTENCE WITH THAT OF CO-OPERATION. THE FAILURE TO MENTION IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY FORM OF THE CONCESSION. THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER ATTEMPTED TO INDUCE THE WEST TO ACCEPT THIS IDEA OF THE PERMANENT NATURE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE KREMLIN
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WILL NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE TO STATE THAT ITS POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND ITS CONTROL OVER OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

8. WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED AT ADJUSTMENTS IN SOVIET FORMULATIONS ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, DESIGNED TO MEET THE SENSITIVITY OF SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, ANY SUCH NEW FORMULATIONS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY SOVIET INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR WHEN THE USSR SEES ITS INTERESTS AS SERIOUSLY THREATENED. THE SOVIETS HAVE IN FACT MADE PERSISTENT EFFORTS TO GET QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE END QUOTE ENDORSED AS A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW; BUT, IN PROMOTING THE CONCEPT INTERNATIONALLY, THEY HAVE IN GENERAL BEEN CAREFUL TO SUPPRESS ITS IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES AND TO IDENTIFY IT EXCLUSIVELY WITH PRINCIPLES IN LINE WITH WESTERN IDEAS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

9. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SEVERAL CASES WHERE THE SOVIET PRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS HAS TAKEN ON A MORE AGGRESSIVE TONE AND SEEMED TO BE DETERMINED MORE BY IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAN BY A DESIRE FOR POLITICAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE WEST.

10. IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON MARCH 16, BREZHNEV TOOK THE OCCASION TO RESTATE THE SOVIET VIEW OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN TERMS CLOSER TO TRADITIONAL PRE-WILSON VISIT FORMULATIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THE ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF COEXISTENCE ONLY APPLIED BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERING SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BUT NOT WITHIN THE COMMUNIST CAMP. IT SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT BREZHNEV HAD TO UNDERLINE THE TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGICAL COMPONENT BECAUSE OF THE RESULTS OF THE PRAGUE MEETING ON MARCH 4 AND 5 OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE IDEOLOGICAL SECRETARIES OF RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES: AT PRAGUE THE USSR MAY HAVE ENCOUNTERED, ON THE ONE HAND, CONCERN THAT DURING THE WILSON VISIT IT HAD WEAKENED TOO MUCH THE ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN THE DOCTRINE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND, ON THE OTHER, ATTEMPTS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE AGLO-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE TO UNDERMINE THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.
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11. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND IS THE ASSESSMENT IN QUOTE PRAVDA END QUOTE ON 8TH APRIL OF THE RESULTS OF THE QUOTE PEACE PROGRAMME END QUOTE ADOPTED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS: PRAVDA STATES THAT THE INSEPERABLE LINK BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE NATIONS' ASPIRATIONS FOR SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY.

CONCLUSION

12. THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF QUOTE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM END QUOTE AND OF QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE END QUOTE REMAIN VALID. RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS ON BOTH PRINCIPLES REFLECT IN NO WAY A CHANGE IN DOCTRINE. IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOVIET LEADERS IMPLY TO DISREGARD EITHER ONE OF THEM, BEING MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THEIR IDEOLOGY, JUST TO MEET THE INTEREST OF THE SOVIET STATE IN DETENTE. IN SOVIET MINDS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE REMAINS AN EXPRESSION OF DIALECTIC MOMENTUM, OF NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD, SHORT OF WAR. ON THE OTHER HAND THE SOVIETS CAN SEE THEIR INTERESTS FURTHERED THROUGH COOPERATION IN CERTAIN AREAS, AND THE QUOTE NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD END QUOTE IS TEMPERED IN ACTUAL CASES BY OVERALL CONSTRAINTS ON SOVIET ACTION.

13. IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO IMPLY ANY FORMAL WESTERN APPROVAL
FOR SOVIET TERMINOLOGY ABOUT QUOTE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
END QUOTE. THE CONCEPTS OF DETENTE, AGREEMENT AND CO-OPERATION,
WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY SHOULD BE PREFERRED TO THE AM-
BIGUOUS CONCEPT OF QUOTE COEXISTENCE. END QUOTE THE WEST SHOULD
CONTINUE TO OBSERVE CAREFULLY WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION, DURING
FORTHCOMING EVENTS, ESPECIALLY IN ITS OWN CAMP (CONFERENCE
OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, 25TH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET
CP) WILL PUT STRONGER EMPHASIS ON BLOC AND IDEOLOGICAL
PRIORITIES AS OPPOSED TO POLITICAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO02571
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750599/abbrzjwa.tel
Line Count: 285
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) STATE 104000; B) USNATO 2429; C) STATE 091311
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 APR 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <23 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006